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THE STRUCTURAL EVOLUTION OF /l/ IN SPANISH

by



MARGERY SHERIDAN ANDERSON

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Structural Evolution of /l/ in Spanish" submitted by Margery Sheridan Anderson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of the evolution of the phoneme /l/ and its relationship to the palatalization of consonant + /l/ clusters in the development from Vulgar Latin to Modern Spanish. In addition, the extent of this palatalization process will be examined in an attempt to determine any inhibiting factors which may have interfered and arrested it.

The distinctive opposition in Vulgar Latin between intervocalic /l/ and /ll/ was paralleled in Hispano Romance by one between /l/ and /ɲ/ when the latter became a phoneme. The evolution of these sounds depended on their relationship to the evolution of the initial clusters /pl/, /kl/ and /fl/.

Previous investigators have assumed that palatalization of the clusters originated in the northwest of the Iberian peninsula and ran into conflict with French influence of cluster retention which radiated from the east--this conflict taking place in Castile during the Hispano Romance period. In fact, palatalization of these clusters seems to be a process which goes back to Vulgar Latin to the time when new clusters had developed as a result of sonorization and syncope. By the time of Hispano Romance when there was a second occurrence of syncope, palatalization of the medial clusters had been completed although palatalization of the initial clusters continued. The new clusters from the second syncope did not palatalize and were reinforced by the introduction of learned words, borrowings, etc. By virtue of their syllable initial position, these clusters also influenced word

initial clusters of the same type and palatalization of the initial clusters was arrested.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One	Introduction	Page
1.1.	Purpose	1
1.2.	Introduction of /l/	1
1.3.	Palatalization of /-ll-/	2
1.4.	Development of Initial /l-/	9
1.5.	Relationship of Initial /l-/ to Initial Clusters	10
Chapter Two	Palatalization of Consonant Clusters	
2.1.	Background	12
2.2.	Relationship of Consonant Clusters to Structure .	13
2.3.	Origins of /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ Palatalization	14
2.4.	Social Influence	19
2.4.1.	French Cultural Influence	20
2.4.2.	French Influence on the Language	21
2.5.	Palatalization in Romance	22
Chapter Three	Vulgar Latin	
3.1.	Sources for Vulgar Latin	25
3.2.	Phonological Differences between CL and VL . . .	25
3.3.	Sonorization	28
3.4.	Syncope	29
Chapter Four	Hispano Romance	
4.1.	Phonological Differences between VL and HR . . .	31
4.2.	Syncope	32

Chapter Five	Old Spanish	Page
5.1.	Fundamental Differences between HR and OS	35
5.2.	Borrowings, <i>Cultismos</i> and <i>Semicultismos</i>	36
Chapter Six	Modern Spanish	
6.1.	Depalatalization Pressures within the Phonemic System	39
6.2.	The Consonantal System of Modern Spanish	40
6.3.	Doublets	42
6.4.	Yeísmo	43
6.5.	Modern Spanish Reflexes	44
Chapter Seven	Summary	46
Bibliography		48
Appendix A		54
Appendix B		55

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. *Purpose.*

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of the evolution of the phoneme /l̥/ and its relationship to the palatalization of consonant plus /l/ clusters which arise from sonorization and syncope in the development from Vulgar Latin to Spanish.¹

It is written within the framework of functional and structural linguistics, the ideas of which were propounded by André Martinet in *Economie des changements phonétiques* and which have been continued and expanded by E. Dorfman, E. Alarcos Llorach, A. Juilland, and others.

1.2. *Introduction of /l̥/.*

The evolution from Classical Latin into Vulgar Latin (see Appendix C for chronology) involves a broad palatalization process which not only rearranges the phonemic inventory of the consonant core system² but also introduces new phonemes as well, for example, in the lateral zone. While there was no palatalized /l̥/ in Classical Latin, this begins to develop in Vulgar Latin. The syncope of unstressed pretonic

¹In this paper palatalization is considered a functional type of change which affects the phonemic paradigm when it introduces a new phoneme. The symbol /l̥/ indicates a palatalized l.

²For the concept of the core, see Dorfman, "Correlation and Core-Relation." Core phoneme refers to any phoneme that takes part in the major oppositions, for example, voiced/voiceless, occlusive/fricative, etc.

and posttonic medial vowels results in consonant clusters which palatalize, for example, /okulum/ > /ok'lu/ > /olo/. Unstressed vowels in hiatus become glides, for example, /filia/ > /fil^Ya/ > /fila/, and the consonant plus yod cluster also palatalizes. There is now an opposition of medial /-l-/ versus /-l̥-/ and this points the way to a parallel development for initial /l-/. The developing stress accent³ weakens atonic vowels by giving them a smaller share of articulatory energy and strengthens tonic vowels by giving them a correspondingly greater share. This affects the pattern of pronunciation in what was formerly a syllabic nucleus and which now becomes a palatal burr on the consonant, for example, *palea* > *pal^Ya*, and /l̥/ is introduced into the spoken system. In the course of time, this /l̥/ becomes commutable as a single phoneme. In the core system of Vulgar Latin, a whole new order is developing and the distinctive feature palatal is being introduced. Thus, certain pairs are now being kept apart on the basis of /l/ versus /l^Y/, cf. *pala* /pala/, *palea* /pal^Ya/. Palatalization of the geminate /-ll-/ to /-l̥-/ strengthens the further development of this /l̥/ from /k'l, l^Y/.

1.3. Palatalization of /-ll-/.

The palatalization of Latin /-ll-/ to /-l̥-/, and of /-nn-/ to /-ñ-/ have been considered by some scholars as parallel developments of the annex system to what was taking place in the consonant core system of

³See Haudricourt et Juilland, *Essai pour une histoire structurale du phonétisme français*, pp. 17-18.

Vulgar Latin and Hispano Romance.⁴ In his introduction to the *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica* (pp. lxxxvii-cxxxviii), Menéndez Pidal discusses his hypothesis which attributes the palatalized results to Osco-Sabine colonists. Lapesa⁵ attributes this palatalization to Basque influence since Spain is the only Romance country where this took place and in Basque the palatalization of *l* and *n* is a frequent occurrence. Entwistle⁶ also notes that Basque palatalizes these sounds and suggests that this may have helped to confirm the Spanish and Catalan development.

According to García de Diego⁷ the manner of syllabification has produced different results: thus, **an-noticu* > *andosco* while *a-nnu* > *año*, *pin-nula* > *péndola* while *pi-nnula* > *péñola*; similarly, *rebel-le* has given *rebelde* while *rebe-lle* > *rebelle*, and *cel-la* > *celda*, compared with *ce-lla* > *cilla*. He notes that in general, *cultismos* show *ll* > *l* without change in articulation, cf. *vacillare* > *vacilar*, *bacillu* > *bacilo*.

Haudricourt and Juilland⁸ consider *ll* > *l̞* and *nn* > *ɲ* as being an integral part of a great structural change which was taking place in the Western Romance consonantal system, and which included the

⁴See García de Diego, *Gramática histórica española*, p. 104, Haudricourt et Juilland, *Essai*, p. 53, Martinet, "Celtic Lenition and Western Romance Consonants," p. 203, and Jungemann, *La teoría del sustrato y los dialectos hispano-romances y gascones*, p. 188.

⁵*Historia de la lengua española*, pp. 29-30.

⁶*The Spanish Language*, p. 36.

⁷*Gramática*, pp. 104-6. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española* considers forms such as *péndola* a *semicultismo* versus *péñola* which is the popular outcome. For a discussion of the term *cultismo*, see footnote 41, page 16.

⁸*Essai*, pp. 53 ff.

simplification of the geminates. Jungemann concludes his discussion of the process as follows:

"Estas soluciones palatales de lat. *ll*, *nn*,...pueden explicarse como originadas en un sistema contrastante, en el cual las consonantes iniciales no precedidas de vocal se reforzaron y fueron identificadas con los resultados de sus correspondientes geminadas. Tal estructura pudo ser consecuencia de un proceso de lenición romance occidental en el cual todas las oclusivas intervocálicas--y en algunas regiones las sonantes intervocálicas--se debilitaron y las geminadas se redujeron y fueron identificadas con sus correspondientes consonantes simples iniciales."⁹

Martinet notes that "...many Western Romance dialects have preserved to this day a distinction between the reflexes of *-n-* and *-nn-*, *-l-* and *-ll-*..."¹⁰ He continues:

"From a functional standpoint, it is understandable that a distinction between *-n-* and *-nn-* should be preserved in a form of speech where their merger might result in lexical or morphological confusions or, more generally, in the confusion of two phonemically distinct types. In a language where *pena* and *penna* co-exist, we should expect that if gemination is eliminated, *-nn-* will not get confused with *-n-* but will assume some specific articulation, e.g., [ɲ] whereby *pena* and *penna* will remain distinct as *pena* and *peña*... (p. 206). A distinction between the reflexes of *-l-* and those of *-ll-* is found throughout the Iberian peninsula.... Leonese, Castilian, and Catalan have here again a palatal reflex for the old geminate, and plain *-l-* for the simple phoneme: *palum* yields Leon. *pálo*, Cast. *palo*, Cat. *pal*, but *-ellum* > Leon. *-éŕlo*, Cast. *-illo*, Cat. *-ell*. This development must have been parallel to the one which has been sketched for *-nn-*" (p. 204).

Martinet suggests the relationship between Celtic and Western Romance in that in Old Celtic there was a weakening of the articulation of the intervocalic consonants paralleling the process taking place in

⁹*La teoría del sustrato*, p. 188.

¹⁰"Celtic Lenition," p. 203.

Romance. It is hypothesized that the process of lenition may have been brought to Western Romance from the Celtic by bilingual speakers since the phenomena attributable to the process of lenition can be found in the major part of the areas originally occupied by the Celts. The kernel of Martinet's theory, then, is

"that the complex structural readjustment involving simplification of geminates, voicing of simple intervocalic surds and spirantization of voiced stops was paralleled and in all likelihood induced by a similar process in Celtic. According to his interpretation, the rearrangement of the occlusive series usually entailed the identification of simple initial consonants with medial geminates. In the case of the laterals and vibrants, the *simple : geminate* opposition was replaced by a *weak : strong* contrast. Originally, word-initial position probably required now one, now the other, depending on the phonetic context; but gradually the strong variant, perhaps to emphasize the word boundary, was generalized at the expense of the weak."¹¹

Thus the weakening of the Vulgar Latin intervocalic occlusives by the bilingual Celto-Latin speakers could have put in motion the process of lenition. Blaylock adds:

"For the Gascon and Castilian deviations and possibly for the Catalan as well, Martinet strongly suspects a disturbing influence from the neighboring Basque, which has remained relatively unaffected by the lenition process observed in Celtic and in Western Romance."¹²

Jungemann, however, comments that in this case it would be necessary for all those regions where there was Celtic substratum to have conditions favorable to the conservation of such substratum, such as a prolonged

¹¹Blaylock, *Studies in Possible Osco-Umbrian Influence on Hispano-Romance Phonology*, p. 138.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 138-39. See also, Martinet, "Celtic Lenition" p. 210.

period of bilingualism, isolation from metropolitan influences, etc. (p. 189).

The geminate/non geminate consonants (or strong versus weak opposition) in Vulgar Latin can be shown schematically as follows:¹³

pp	tt	kk	ss
p	t	k	s
b	d	g	-

In the annex system to the core, there is a similar correlation:

mm	nn	ll	rr
m ¹⁴	n	l	r

In Hispano Romance occlusive and fricative geminates in intervocalic position merge phonetically with their corresponding simple combinatory variants in initial position, for example, *p-* and *-pp-* > *p*; *t-* and *-tt-* > *t*. In the same way, the reflexes of *l-* and *-ll-*, *n-* and

¹³No structural reason is posited here to account for the fact that voiced geminates appear infrequently. Those that do, simplify, cf. *abbate* > *abad*; *gibba* > *giba*; *reddere* > *rendir*; *aggro* > *agro*. Examples are taken from Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática* p. 13¹⁴, García de Diego, *Gramática*, p. 105, and Bassols de Climent, *Fonética latina*, p. 198. The space for [z] is filled during Hispano Romance.

¹⁴/-mm-/ > /-m-/, e.g., Sp. *llama* < *flamma*. Martinet, in "Celtic Lenition," compares this to Celtic: "What Celtic and Western Romance have in common here is the fact that *m* behaves differently from its congeners *n l r*, probably on account of its naturally weaker articulation. The difference between the Romance merger and the Celtic preservation of the distinction should perhaps be ascribed to the higher frequency of *-mm-* in Celtic," (p. 203).

-nn- tend to equalize and the former quantitative opposition of *ll* versus *l* no longer exists. The scheme now changes accordingly:¹⁵

<i>Latin</i>		<i>Romance</i>	
n-	-nn-	n-	-ñ-
	-n-		-n-
l-	-ll-	l-	-l̥-
	-l-		-l-

The new /-l̥-/ from the geminate would have converged with the /-l̥-/ from /k'l/ and /l̥^Y/; the distinction is maintained, however, and /-l̥-/ (from /k'l, l̥^Y/) comes to be realized as the fricative [-ž-] or its corresponding affricate [-g̊-].¹⁶

Discussing the transition of /-l̥-/ to [-ž-], Dámaso Alonso comments:

"El fonema -l̥- anterior a la deslateralización, aparece recordado en grafías como *li* y *lli*...y *lg*; han de interpretarse como arcaísmos, quizá meramente ortográficos. Pronto se encuentran grafías que indican la deslateralización: *g*, *gg*, *i*, *j*, *ih*, etc. Pero es muy difícil interpretar cuál era el verdadero valor fonético de estos signos (empleados con gran confusión). El sonido fué en Castilla -ž̂- o -ž-, en todo caso debió llegar a -ž-. Pero, supuesto que existió un grado primitivo *l̥*, ¿cómo se pasó de *l̥* a *ž̂*? Se ha supuesto que por medio de un simple yeísmo rehilado; más o menos como en la Argentina la *l̥* > -ll-. La dificultad suscitado por Bourciez es que en la Argentina el rehilamiento arrastra

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 212-13; Alarcos Llorach, *Fonología española* p. 248; and Dorfman, *History of the Spanish Language*, p. 65.

¹⁶[-ñ-] and [-nn-] converged, however, and no distinction is maintained. See Alarcos Llorach, pp. 248, 262.

hacia \check{z} lo mismo a *caballo* que a *mayo*, (*cabažo*, *mažo*), pero en Castilla la *-y-* de *mayo* no fué afectada y sólo lo fué la supuesta *y* < $\underset{\sim}{l}$ < *-lj-*, *-kl-* y *-gl-*."17

We do not know whether the plurality of forms in early Castilian (*g*, *gg*, *i*, *j*, *ih*, etc.) covered one sound alone, or whether they included a series of distinctive palatals all of which were subsequently lost with the exception of \check{z} . The one point which is certain is that Castilian *-l-* went to *-ž-*, and that this *-ž-* unvoiced, and, together with \check{s} , went to *x*, today found in *mujer*, *viejo*, etc.¹⁸ /lʲ/ could not have developed to [*-ž-*] through the intermediary stage of [*-y-*] as is found today in parts of Spanish America, otherwise words with *y* such as *mayo*, *poyo* would have developed to **mažo*, **požo*.¹⁹ Martinet²⁰ suggests that the [*-l-*] (from /lʲ/) became a cacuminal [*-d-*] which then integrated itself into the system as [*-ž-*]. Alarcos Llorach (p. 263) points to the divergent results from the various yod clusters and wonders whether it is actually necessary to postulate that the clusters /lʲ/ and /k'l/ went through the stage /-l-/ in the Castilian of Burgos. He compares the differences of the /dʲ/ clusters with those of /lʲ/, and posits that as a single unit /lʲ/ > [y] but as l'y, the postconsonantal *y* would be reinforced; thus *palea* > **pal'ya* > **palža* > **padža* > *paža* > *paja*, and *oculu* > **oc'lu* > **ol'yo* > **odžo* > *ožo* > *ojo*. /-ž-/ subsequently went to /-x-/

¹⁷"La fragmentación fonética peninsular," in *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, p. 84. The symbol \check{z} appears to be the equivalent of *g* as used in this thesis.

¹⁸*Loc. cit.*

¹⁹Alarcos Llorach, *Fonología española*, p. 262.

²⁰"The Unvoicing of Old Spanish Sibilants," p. 136.

in the sixteenth century, cf. *muliere* > *mujer*, *filia* > *hija*, *oculum* > *ojo*.²¹

The development could be termed a drag chain:²²

$$\begin{array}{ccc} -ll- & \longrightarrow & \underset{\sim}{-l}- \\ & & \underset{\sim}{-l}- \quad (< k'l, l^y) \longrightarrow -\check{z}- \end{array} \quad ^{23}$$

1.4. Development of Initial /l-/.

Depending on whether the preceding word ends in a vowel or a consonant, there are variants initially. For example, after a vowel /l-/ and /n-/ are treated as intervocalic, i.e., are not palatalized:²⁴

<i>Initial</i>		
Vulgar Latin	-o la-	-os la-
	-o na-	-os na-
Hispano Romance	-o la-	-os ɭa-
	-o na-	-os ña-
<i>Medial</i>		
Vulgar Latin	-ola-	-olla-
	-ona-	-onna-
Hispano Romance	-ola-	-oɭa-
	-ona-	-oña-

²¹Note Aragonese *muller*, *filla*, and Catalan *muller*, *filla*, *ull*. See Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, p. 56.

²²See Martinet's discussion of this concept in "Function, Structure and Sound Change," p. 11.

²³See Alarcos Llorach, p. 262.

²⁴See Alarcos Llorach, pp. 249-50; Martinet "Celtic Lenition" pp. 212-13; and Dorfman, *History of the Spanish Language*, p. 75.

Later these contextual (combinatory) variants of ɫ and ɭ disappear through the generalization of one or other of the variants. Leonese, Catalan and Mozarabic have the result of $-\text{o } \text{ɭ}\alpha-$ and $-\text{os } \text{ɭ}\alpha-$, while Castilian results in $-\text{o } \text{ɫ}\alpha-$ and $-\text{os } \text{ɫ}\alpha-$. We now find the initial $/\text{ɭ}-/$ (as in *llevar* from *levare*)²⁵ with intervocalic $/-\text{ɭ}-/$; this has undergone no further change until Modern Spanish when it has tended to be reduced to $/y/$, cf. *calle* $/kaye/$. In Aragonese and Asturian $/-\text{ll}-/$ went to $/t/$ or $/t\check{s}/$, for example, *vitellum* has given Aragonese *betieto*, *betiecho*.²⁶

Another palatalized $/\text{ɭ}/$ now joins the phoneme $/\text{ɭ}/$: this is developing from the initial clusters $/p\text{ɭ}-/$, $/k\text{ɭ}-/$ and $/f\text{ɭ}-/$.

1.5. Relationship of Initial $/\text{ɭ}-/$ to Initial Clusters.

At this point $/\text{ɭ}/$ is well integrated in the phonological system so that the evolution of the initial clusters $/p\text{ɭ}-/$, $/k\text{ɭ}-/$ and $/f\text{ɭ}-/$ to $/\text{ɭ}-/$ does not make any structural difference in the paradigm. $/\text{ɭ}-/$ simply merges with the $/\text{ɭ}/$ already in the language.

In the east, in Catalan and Aragonese, where initial $/l-/$ palatalizes to $/\text{ɭ}-/$, the initial clusters are preserved intact, the distinction being maintained without difficulty. In the west and center, $/p\text{ɭ}-/$, $/k\text{ɭ}-/$ and $/f\text{ɭ}-/$ clusters are largely simplified to $/l-/$; however this $/l-/$ now conflicts with the original $/l-/$, making the former

²⁵Corominas, *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, p. 362.

²⁶See Elcock, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 421-22.

distinctions such as *flāna* versus *lāna*, *plumbu* versus *lumbu*, impossible since they merge as *lāna* and *lumbu*.²⁷

In Castilian these clusters proceed to /l̥-/, but in those regions where initial /l-/ palatalizes to /l̥-/, the clusters develop further to /č/ or /š/.²⁸ It appears, therefore, that the generalization of /l-/ or /l̥-/ from Latin /l-/ evolves individually in each region in relation to the evolution of the clusters /pl-/, /kl-/ and /fl-/.

Catalan Aragonese	Castilian	West Leonese	Gallego Portuguese
l- > l̥-	l- > l-	l- > l- / l̥-	l- > l- / l̥-
pl- > pl-	pl- > l̥- pl-	pl- > č	pl- > š

²⁷See Martinet, "Celtic Lenition," p. 209: "...if...we reckon with a period when *l-* and *L-* alternated in word initial (*sic*), we can understand why, when *L* tended toward [ĩ], the weak phoneme was analogically extended to all initials, since thereby the reflex of Lat. *l-* was kept distinct from that of *pl-*, *fl-*, *cl-*, which at that time was already [ĩ]. As long as *L* was a strong non-palatal *l*, *lāna* 'wool' could be articulated with either *l-* or *L-*, depending on the context, without any danger of confusion; but when *L* began to shift towards [ĩ], speakers must have given preference to *lāna*, since *Lāna* becoming [ĩāna] would have been identical with *llāna* 'trowel' from *plāna*. In Catalan, on the contrary, where *pl-*, *fl-*, *cl-* were preserved, and in Leonese, where they became [č], *L* passing to [ĩ] could be preserved and ultimately generalized."

²⁸Cf. Gallego-Port. *chorar* < *plorare*, *chave* < *clave*, *chama* < *flamma*.

CHAPTER II

PALATALIZATION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

2.1. Background.

In their evolution to Old Spanish, initial consonant clusters function either as discrete entities or fuse into a single unit. In Italian and Portuguese²⁹ /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ amalgamate, while in Catalan³⁰ they remain discrete. In Spanish, however, they may do either. This phenomenon has been variously discussed in the past, starting with Antonio de Nebrija, in the fifteenth century, who comments that the *l* has two functions: one a single *l* coming from Latin as in *lado*, *luna* and the other a borrowed form when it is doubled as in *llave* and *lleno*. He notes that neither Jews, nor Moors, nor Greeks nor Latins have this sound themselves.³¹

As part of his sixteenth century *Diálogo de la lengua*, Juan de Valdés discusses the minimal pairs *llanto* and *planto*, preferring the discrete form to the fused one; with *salir* and *sallir*, *resolver* and *resollar*, he selects the fused unit in preference to the cluster, describing the discrete forms as mistakes (pp. 81-2).

In the nineteenth century, Diez lists several Latin forms which resisted all modification such as *claro*, *clavo*, *placer*, *floxo*, *flor* but

²⁹For example, Latin *planu* > It. *piano*, Ptg. *chão*; Latin *cloc-* > It. *chioccia*, Ptg. *choca*; and Latin *flore* > It. *fiore*, Old Ptg. *chor* (but modern *flor*).

³⁰For example, Lat. *pluvia* > Cat. *pluja*; Lat. *clavo* > Cat. *clau*; Lat. *flamma* > Cat. *flama*.

³¹See *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, pp. 26, 41, 245.

prefers those with $\underset{\sim}{l}$ as the normal form;³² Meyer-Lübke explains the cluster (or discrete unit) as the result of semi-learned influence.³³ Pottier attributes the palatalization of /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ to the fact that consonant + /l/ was a difficult cluster to pronounce and therefore the occlusive element was lost as /pl-/ > /p $\underset{\sim}{l}$ -/ > /l $\underset{\sim}$ -/.³⁴

Most scholars writing on the history of the Spanish language mention that some of these clusters have been retained initially in Modern Castilian while others have palatalized. No attempt has been made, however, insofar as it is possible to ascertain, to relate the retention of clusters to the whole set of paradigmatic developments within the framework of the palatalization process. This requires a functional and structural confrontation of the units undergoing palatalization in both initial and medial position, viewed as a related process.

2.2. *Relationship of Consonant Clusters to Structure.*

The traditional listings of initial and medial consonant clusters which palatalize do not account for the fact that some clusters palatalize while others do not.³⁵ Functional analysis, however, relates phonological changes to one another and also to the system as a whole since every phonological system is in a constant state of flux. If the

³²*Grammaire des langues romanes*, Vol. I, p. 197.

³³*Grammaire des langues romanes*, Vol. I, p. 369.

³⁴*Philologie hispanique*, pp. 51 ff.

³⁵See Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, Vol. I, p. 369; Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 286-88; and Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 126.

loss of a phoneme occurs, then the structural relationships are changed and a new system results.³⁶ This is the effect that palatalization of clusters has on the evolving system.

2.3. Origins of /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ palatalization.

In 1917, Viggo Brøndal³⁷ proposed that as a result of the influence of a pre-Roman substratum /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ lost their initial element and palatalized to /l-/. Menéndez Pidal came to the same conclusion:

"...sin duda hay debajo de este fenómeno algún rasgo propio de las lenguas indígenas, pues el vasco dice también *luma* 'pluma,' *landatu* 'plantar,' *lore* 'flor,' *lamur* < 'CLAMOR(?)' 'lástima'." ³⁸

According to Baldinger, "Silva Neto recoge la afirmación de Cornu (*Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache*, 1906, 60) de que ninguna palabra cristiana palatalizó PL-, CL-, FL-, por lo cual esta palatalización debe

³⁶For example, sonorization of the intervocalic consonants seems to depend on the pressure of the simplification of geminates. With the weakening of the geminates, the voiceless stops must also weaken in order to maintain their distinctive relationships of geminate vs. non-geminate, or strong versus weak. Before the voiceless stops weaken to voiced stops, the previously voiced stops weaken to become fricatives, also to maintain their distinctive relationship of strong versus weak. See Dorfman, *History of the Spanish Language*, p. 61, Alarcos Llorach, *Fonología española*, p. 243, and Pottier, *Philologie hispanique*, pp. 38 ff.

³⁷*Substrat et emprunt en roman et en germanique*, trad. francesa, Copenhagen y Bucarest, 1948, pág. 107 (cited by Baldinger, p. 182).

³⁸*Orígenes del español*, pp. 501-2, as cited by Baldinger, *loc. cit.*

de ser muy antigua" (p. 183). Baldinger concludes that pre-Roman influence was great, favored by the autonomy of the Northwest which was long under Swabian domination. He maintains that in the Swabian-Visigoth period /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ went to their intermediate stage of /p̥l-/ , /k̥l-/ and /f̥l-/.

The predominant opinion is thus that palatalization of initial clusters did not originate in Castilian, but that it came from outside (adstratum) influence. Lapesa shows that this process originated in the northwest part of the Spanish peninsula and spread from there to Castile.³⁹ The extent of this influence has been variously described since the change did not occur in the Mozarabic dialects of the center and south of the peninsula, nor in the Navarro-Aragonese dialects of the extreme east, nor in Catalan.⁴⁰ This is reflected in the following opposed views:

³⁹For the geographical limits of this modification, see page 130. See also, Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, p. 286, Amado Alonso, *De la pronunciación medieval a la moderna en español*, p. 107, and Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, p. 503.

⁴⁰West of Castile there is another area of palatalization with a different ultimate result (cf. Port. *chamar*). Here, initial /p k f/ + /l/ develops at first as in Castilian to /p̥l-/ and thereafter /p̥l-/ > /tj/ > /t̃s/ > /s/. During the medieval period the sound used was /t̃s/. Reduction to /s/ was as late as the seventeenth century (see Entwistle, p. 287). For example, *clamare* > *chamar*, *plorare* > *chorar*, *flamma* > *chama*. In West León, the affricate /t̃s/ becomes a simple fricative /ç/ (written *x*), cf. *xorar*, *xamar*, *xama*.

(1) The changes were regular and complete in Castilian--the subsequent introduction of *cultismos*⁴¹ accounts for the clusters in the later language.

For instance, the following have been attributed to learned words: *planta, plañir, plaza, plomo, claro, clavo, clueca, cloca*, as well as those listed below.⁴²

(2) The change was not complete in that it did not affect all the vocabulary items in which these clusters occurred.

Entwistle explains "...the passage of *fl-* to *ll-* is supported only by *llama* in Spanish (and, within the word, by *hallar* **faflare*, *afflare*), and scarcely amounts to establishing a rule" (*loc. cit.*). He concludes that not all cases of Spanish /*fl-*/ in Castilian are due to learned influence, but that, in fact, *flaco, flanco, flecha, fleje, flor, flojo, flujo* indicate a wave of change which lost impetus as it reached Castilian territory.

Since there is a large number of frequently used lexical items with unmodified clusters (those usually called *cultismos*) and since there seems to be no indication that these have replaced earlier lexical items, the first view does not appear to have substantial evidence. The second

⁴¹*Cultismos* are defined here as learned words borrowed into Spanish from Latin literary sources at specific periods and reflect an earlier stage of the language, i.e., they have not undergone phonological change. *Semicultismos* are those semi-learned words which have undergone partial change. Sometimes the same word is found in the form of a *cultismo* and a *semicultismo* (e.g., *secular* and *seglar*) or a *semicultismo* and a popular form (e.g., *regla* and *reja*), see Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, p. 78.

⁴²See Jungemann, *La teoría del sustrato*, p. 159. See also, Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 126.

view, on the other hand, necessitates an examination of disruptive or inhibiting factors which cut short a normal change before completion.⁴³

Phonological change originates in the speech habits of one or several individuals and in one or several vocabulary items.⁴⁴ The innovation may revolve around any number of processes, for example, assimilation, random variation, analogy, borrowing, etc. The factors that contribute to replacement of one form by another cannot be understood from structural pressures alone:

"The contribution of internal, structural forces to the effective spread of linguistic changes, as outlined by Martinet, must naturally be of primary concern to any linguist who is investigating these processes of propagation and regularization. However, an account of structural pressures can hardly tell the whole story. Not all changes are highly structured, and no change takes place in a social vacuum. Even the most systematic chain shift occurs with a specificity of time and place that demands an explanation."⁴⁵

⁴³By normal change is meant the type of sound change whereby "all the performances of a given phoneme, everywhere or in a well defined context, are eventually affected." Martinet, "Function, Structure and Sound Change," p. 3.

⁴⁴Labov, "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change," p. 273.

⁴⁵Labov, p. 274. See also, Weinreich, "A Theory of Language Change," p. 188.

In *Elements of General Linguistics*, Martinet expresses the following view: "The difficulties experienced in identifying all the circumstances which may have influenced the genesis of a linguistic change should not deter the search for an explanatory analysis. In this, priority should always be given to that aspect of the causality of phenomena which takes account only of the language in question and the permanent framework, psychological and physiological, of every linguistic economy: the principle of least effort, the need to communicate and to express the structure and functioning of the speech organs. In the second place, account should be taken of the facts of interference by one usage or language on another. Although the diacronist will never be blind to historical data of every kind, he will not have recourse to them except in the last resort, after having exhausted all the possibilities of explanation offered by an examination of the evolution of the structure itself and after study of the effects of interference" (p. 197).

The extent of borrowing among populations of any given area may be determined by geographical considerations of distance. If, indeed, palatalization was introduced from an adjacent dialect area, /l-/ must have been extensively used around the center of innovation, while /pl-/, /kl-/ and /fl-/ as discrete units persisted in the areas furthest removed from the point of introduction. In the middle regions where both /l-/ and the clusters were in conflict, the one form did not entirely replace the other and the process was arrested.



l-



pl- etc.



interrupted development



It does not seem likely that Castilian would have borrowed this change from Leonese, since the period of borrowing would correspond to Castilian expansion on all fronts--territorial, political, and linguistic. Castilian prestige was continually on the rise from the ninth century on. This prestige revolved around both literary works embodied in the great epic poems of the period⁴⁶ and the martial exploits of the Castilian peoples. It radiated first from Burgos and later from Toledo.⁴⁷ As early as the eleventh century, innovations in the

⁴⁶For example, the heroic poems on the *Infantes de Lara* and the Castilian Counts, as well as the *Cid*.

⁴⁷See Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 159 ff. for a detailed discussion of Castilian expansion.

Castilian dialect, for example, /-k'l-/ , /-g'l-/ , /-ly-/ to /-l̥-/ , were already diffusing throughout the neighboring regions due to this prestige. According to Entwistle (p. 164), by the eleventh century this change covered Old Castile, Asturias, La Rioja, East León and South León (Salamanca).

There is a third possible explanation: that palatalization of initial /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ to /l̥-/ is an internal structural development of Castilian and is systematically related to the palatalization of medial clusters of the same type.⁴⁸ The syntagmatic pressure to palatalize was balanced by corresponding paradigmatic pressures, based on evolutionary phonological trends already manifesting themselves in the changes from Classical Latin through Vulgar Latin, Hispano Romance and Old Spanish.

2.4. *Social Influence.*

One factor that may have contributed to the resistance to total integration of /l̥-/ in Castilian may be that /l̥-/ was considered a vulgar innovation by the upper classes who, in general, retained the clusters in their pronunciation.⁴⁹ Reconstructed forms need to be posited for the different styles of speech in early Spanish:

cap(u)la > *capla (conservative)
 > *capla > cacha (popular)

⁴⁸Medial clusters are considered as syllable initial clusters, for example, *co-pla*, *con-clave*, *a-flare*.

⁴⁹See Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, p. 238. For a discussion of the class theory, see Pei, *The Italian Language*, pp. 14-15. See also, Wartburg, *La fragmentación lingüística de la Romania*, pp. 35-6, and Jordan, *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, pp. 356 ff.

The difference between popular and conservative speech does not represent two extremes in a given dialect. Undoubtedly there is a large amount of overlap between the two styles of speech that vary with the individual and the region. All the particulars are not known, but inferences based on the kind and amount of external influence and upon paradigmatic and syntagmatic considerations allow the major patterns to emerge which can be filled in with more detail as new information comes to light.

2.4.1. *French Cultural Influence.*

By the eleventh century the French were a prestigious element⁵⁰ in Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia and the power of the Monks of Cluny was unusually strong. These monks, who entered Spain via Navarre, were already established and very influential by 1033. They reinforced French ideas that preceded them and used their influence to urge the kings to go to war against the Moslems, accelerating the reconquest. According to Entwistle:

"Apart from Latin, the principal influence exerted on medieval Spanish is that of French. It was an epoch of undisputed French hegemony in Europe. Many words entered the language through being borne by pilgrims along the Pilgrim's Way to Compostela or by the minstrels who entertained the pilgrims. Cluniac monks reorganized conventual discipline; Norman crusaders and soldiers in the French and English service saw fighting in the Peninsula, and carried with them the seeds of innovations in chivalry, good society, organization, arts and industries, commerce and cookery" (p. 206).

⁵⁰See Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, p. 119; Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 24; Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, p. 426; and Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 212 ff.

French influence is also seen pervading the Church and while there may have been an earlier form of Spanish literature,⁵¹ French influence was nevertheless very great in this area also.

2.4.2. *French Influence on the Language.*

Among the characteristics distinguishing Catalan and Navarro-Aragonese from the dialects of the west is the conservation of initial clusters. Since French did not palatalize these clusters and these areas were under the greatest French influence, it seems likely that the influence of the French pervaded not only the Church and the literature, but also the language itself. Jungemann (p. 159) concludes that where consonant + /l/ was retained this was due to either their late acquisition or else to cultural influence.⁵²

This prestigious pronunciation which influenced the speech habits of the lower classes may have altered the normal direction of the change--that is, some lexical forms which had not yet undergone the modifications were less likely to follow the general pattern of change

⁵¹See Menéndez Pidal, *En torno al poema del Cid*, pp. 7 ff.

⁵²Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, p. 542, observes: "En este vocablo (flor)...predominó la pronunciación de las clases educadas...." On p. 813 he states with respect to *placer*, "Si en 'placer' no se alteró el grupo inicial de consonantes no fue porque fuese voz culta ni aun semiculta, sino por ser vocablo muy empleado por las clases altas...." This is supported by the alternative forms *planta/llanta*, see Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 126. In conservative and common speech *planta* became the accepted form.

and vacillated between the two pronunciations, for example *planta/llanta*. Since the process of change and vacillation must have occurred over a long period of time, there was ample opportunity for the vulgar forms to make inroads into the more conservative speech habits and for conservative speech to influence the lower classes.

2.5. *Palatalization in Romance.*

Italian inherited the same consonant clusters from Vulgar Latin as did Spanish, and their development shows an affinity with regard to Latin /pl/, /kl/, and /fl/--a fact which suggests that the tendency to palatalize these clusters in these circumstances may go back to Vulgar Latin.⁵³ Italian, however, eliminated the laterality instead of the occlusivity.

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Italian</i>
planum	piano
clavem	chiave
flamma	fiamma

Bourciez (p. 163) considers that the entire process took place very early, although *kl* and *gl* were the first to palatalize. Medially, the results were exactly the same, for example:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Italian</i>
duplum	doppio
oculum	occhio
tribula	trebbia
ungula	unghia

⁵³See Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, p. 421.

Learned words in Italian are generally marked by the fact that they have a doublet, for example *plebe* (*pieve*) < Latin *plebs*.

In French, /pl/ and /fl/ remain both initially and medially; however /kl/ palatalizes medially, cf. *pareil* < *pariculum*, *oeil* < *oculum*, *vieil* < *vetulum*.⁵⁴

<i>Latin</i>	<i>French</i>
populum	peuple
duplum	double
tabula	table
sifilare	siffler
ungula	ongle

Discussing palatalization of the initial clusters formed with occlusive plus *l* in Romance generally, Bourciez notes:

"Les groupes...ont éprouvé une altération ancienne dans presque toutes les régions de la Romanie (sauf en Gaule et en Rhétie), et *l* s'y est généralement palatalisé. A une première étape on a donc eu *kl*, *gl*, *pl*, etc.... C'est seulement beaucoup plus tard, et dans les patois modernes, qu'on a constaté des tendances analogues pour le N. de la France: ainsi à l'ouest, norm. *plyēd*, poitv. saintg. *pyēdr*, à l'Est lorr. *pyēd* pour *plaindre* (plangere), etc.; cf. *Atl. ling.*, 1025. Dans quelques parties de la Suisse romande *py* a même été jusqu'à *pθ* (à Vionnaz *pθāta* = *planta*)."⁵⁵

This summary of the previous views reveals the lack of agreement which exists in the various descriptions of cluster reduction and retention. Even in the more modern treatments, the emphasis appears to be on external influences such as substratum, influence of French prestige and

⁵⁴See Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, pp. 133, 229. Fr. *siècle* from *saeculum* is learned.

⁵⁵*Eléments de linguistique romane*, pp. 163-4.

regional, semi-learned or learned borrowings. Insofar as the internal linguistic pressures are concerned, these may now be examined within a chronological framework.

CHAPTER III

VULGAR LATIN

3.1. *Sources for Vulgar Latin.*

The fundamental basis for the Spanish language, according to Menéndez Pidal, is Vulgar Latin⁵⁶ as it had been propagated in Spain from the end of the third century, B.C.

"El latín vulgar no se diferencia del clásico por la fecha, pues es tan antiguo, y más, que el latín literario; vivió siempre al lado de él, aunque no siempre igualmente divorciado de él."⁵⁷

Our main knowledge of Vulgar Latin is taken from inscriptions, *graffiti*, etc., since the writers of the period used only the literary language. Some of the grammarians, in condemning certain expressions or word-usage, also gave us the vulgar forms being used, for example, the *Appendix Probi*, which was probably written in Africa during the third century, A.D., "...es uno de los más ricos en indicaciones sobre tales vulgarismos."⁵⁸

3.2. *Phonological Differences between CL and VL.*

The fundamental difference between the consonantal systems of Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin consists in the absence of any palatals in the former, and the strong palatal process in the latter. As a

⁵⁶The term Vulgar Latin is used here to designate the linguistic stage succeeding the period of Classical Latin where the language could be described as having a literary and a popular form. Vulgar Latin derived from the popular variety of spoken Classical Latin with its own phonological, morphological and syntactic systems.

⁵⁷*Gramática*, p. 3. For additional contrary views, see also Palmer, *The Latin Language*, pp. 148-55 and Pulgram, *The Tongues of Italy*, pp. 312 ff.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 4.

result of hiatus through t^y d^y k^y g^y and the front movement of $k^{e,i}$ and $g^{e,i}$, involvement of the front mass of the tongue comes to play an even greater role in the articulatory processes.

The phonemic inventory for Vulgar Latin is the following:⁵⁹

p	t	ć	k
b	d	ź	g
f	s		
v			
		y	
	l	ḷ	
	r		
m	n	ñ	

A whole new order is developing in the core system and palatalization is becoming a distinctive feature; certain pairs are now being kept apart on the basis of palatal versus non-palatal, e.g., CL *palea* and *pala* become respectively VL /pa_{ḷ}a/ (> Modern Spanish *paja*) and /pala/ (> Modern Spanish *pala*). At this stage the phoneme /ḷ/ occurs only intervocalically, and hence is opposed to /l/ only in this position.

Early in the Empire geminate *ll* was reduced to *l* after diphthongs and long vowels, cf. *māllō*, *mīllia*.⁶⁰ Discussing the reduction of *ll*, Väänänen comments that it was a complicated case to judge merely from the written forms, and adds:

⁵⁹See Alarcos Llorach, *Fonología española*, p. 240. Note, however, that the symbols used here and throughout this paper are those employed by Dorfman.

⁶⁰See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 69.

"...il y a eu réduction, d'une manière générale, après diphtongue, mais après voyelle longue seulement quand un *i* suivait: *paulum* et *paulō* sont préférés à *paullum*, *paullō*.... On a pensé que -*ll*- après voyelle longue ne serait qu'une graphie pour indiquer la prononciation alvéo-palatale de cette consonne, tandis que *l* simple aurait été devant *o*, *a* et *u*, et -*ll*- de *paullum*, *Paullus*, *aulla*, *ōlla*..., un *l* 'dur' un cas de gémination affective...."⁶¹

Between vowels, *ly* and *ny* probably became *l'* and *n'* before the end of the Empire; for example, *fīlius*, *fōlia*, *mēlius*, *palea*, *tīlia*; *Hispania*, *tēneat*, *vēniam*. This palatal pronunciation may be represented by the spellings *Aureia*, *Corneius*, *fīios*, etc. *Lly*, *ll'g*, *l'g'* were probably reduced to *l'* somewhat later, cf. *allium*, *malleus*; *cōlligit*, *exeligit*.⁶²

The Vulgar Latin consonant clusters which appear in initial and medial position include all those already found in Classical Latin⁶³ which are as follows:

pl-	<i>planta</i>	'plant'
kl-	<i>clamo</i>	'call'
fl-	<i>flumen</i>	'stream'
bl-	<i>blandus</i>	'flattering'
gl-	<i>gloria</i>	'fame'

⁶¹Introduction au latin vulgaire, p. 61.

⁶²Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 115.

⁶³Here, and throughout this thesis, the only clusters referred to are those which are relevant to this discussion.

-pl-	<i>aplaustre</i>	'stern of ship'
-kl-	<i>ecloga</i>	'short poem'
-fl-	<i>defluo</i>	'flow down, away'
-bl-	<i>abluo</i>	'wash'
-gl-	<i>reglutino</i>	'unglue'

3.3. Sonorization.

In Western Romance intervocalic voiceless occlusives became voiced and were subsequently subjected to various changes, sometimes amounting to elimination,⁶⁴ for example:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Ptg.</i>	<i>Span.</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Fr.</i>
<i>ripa</i>	<i>riba</i>	<i>riba</i>	<i>riba</i>	<i>rive</i>
<i>vita</i>	<i>vida</i>	<i>vida</i>	<i>vida</i>	<i>vie</i>
<i>pacat</i>	<i>paga</i>	<i>paga</i>	<i>paga</i>	<i>paie</i>

This process of sonorization had begun to take place early,⁶⁵ and is attested by examples from Pompeii, cf. *pagato* for *pacato*; *logus* for *locus*. In Spain there is an example of sonorization from the second century, *imudavit* for *immutavit*. From the third century are found *pudore* for *putore*, *lebra* for *lepra* and *migat* for *micat*. At the same time as sonorization is taking place, the phenomenon of syncope occurs, creating a situation in which new clusters will develop.

⁶⁴See Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, p. 54.

⁶⁵See Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, pp. 24, 49-50. "There is thus general agreement that the phenomenon [of sonorization] dates from within imperial times" (p. 49).

3.4. Syncope.

Syncope arises as a result of the loss of the Classical Latin quantitative accent and the subsequent adaptation of a stress accent which neutralizes length in atonic position.⁶⁶ Elcock maintains that the best source for a study of the Vulgar Latin phonological development is classed under the general heading of "inscriptions." More specifically, this applies to the engravings and scratchings revealed by excavation. Examples of the *graffiti* on the walls of Pompeii:

"...abound in features characteristic of Vulgar Latin,... [and] they are almost exactly dated, and thereby show many of the changes which may be deduced from comparative study to have been taking place at an earlier time than one might have otherwise suspected. Thus the sonorization of intervocalic posives...is quite well attested.... Also of common occurrence is the phenomenon known to linguists as 'syncope,' the loss of the internal unstressed vowel. One example, from a shopping-list, will suffice: COLICLO 'small cabbage' (< CAULICULUM),... This phenomenon is, however, attested a century earlier by 'cursing tablets'...discovered at Rome, in which ORICLAS--also in evidence at Pompeii--occurs side by side with ORICULAS (Class. AURICULAS)."⁶⁷

As a result of this first occurrence of syncope, the following clusters are juxtaposed and subsequently undergo palatalization:

p'l	cap(u)la	(> cacha p'l > pš > č)	'bent'
b'l	trib(u)la	(> trilla b'l > bl̥ > l̥)	'threshing'
k'l	oc(u)lum	(> ojo k'l > *dž > ž > x)	'eye'
g'l	teg(u)la	(> teja g'l > gl̥ > x)	'tile'
t'l	vet(u)lus	(> viejo t'l > ž > x)	'old'

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

The labial *p'* does not sonorize but simply palatalizes. Sonorization of /-pl-/ > /-bl-/, for example, *duplare* > *doblar*, indicates that the initial member of these clusters behaves as if it were intervocalic. This process continues at a rapid rate in Iberia along with the reduction of geminates /pp > p > b/ occurring in many instances before the second wave of syncope, cf. *dominicu* > *dominigo* (eleventh century) > *domingo*.

The modification of these medial clusters tends to affect their counterparts in word initial position by palatalization, cf. Italian *pl-* > *py-*; *bl-* > *by-*; *gl-* > *gy-*; *fl-* > *fy-*.

At this point the language is passing from Vulgar Latin to Hispano Romance which, continuing in its natural evolution, is the same language which appears as the literary language in the *Poema del Cid*, the language which was perfected by Alfonso el Sabio, and substantially the same language which Cervantes used.⁶⁸

⁶⁸See Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, pp. 8-9.

CHAPTER IV

HISPANO ROMANCE

4.1. *Phonological Differences between VL and HR.*

The fundamental difference between the consonantal systems of Vulgar Latin and Hispano Romance consists in the greater elaboration of the palatal consonants. The following is the phonemic inventory for Hispano Romance:⁶⁹

p	t	ć	k
b	d	ź	g
f		s	š
v		z	
	l	ľ	
	r		
	ř		
m	n	ñ	

At this stage, when the geminates are in the process of simplifying, /-ll-/ palatalizes and becomes /-ľ-/, for example, *sella* > *siella* > *silla* /silä/.

Within the framework of this system of Hispano Romance, the following initial and medial consonant clusters occur:

⁶⁹This is based on the phonemic inventory given by Alarcos Llorach, *Fonología española*, p. 254.

pl-	<i>pleno</i>	'full'
kl-	<i>clamar</i>	'call'
fl-	<i>flama</i>	'flame'
bl-	<i>blanco</i>	'white'
gl-	<i>gloria</i>	'fame'
-pl-	<i>aplauso</i>	'applause'
-kl-	<i>aclamo</i>	'acclaim'
-fl-	<i>aflato</i>	'wind'
-bl-	<i>ablano</i>	'hazel'
-gl-	<i>iglesia</i>	'church'

With the second occurrence of syncope, however, new clusters develop.

4.2. *Syncope.*

The second general occurrence of syncope takes place during this transition period between Vulgar Latin and Old Spanish and juxtaposes the following consonants + /l/:

p'l > bl	<i>pop(u)lum</i>	> <i>pueblo</i>
t'l > dl	<i>spat(u)la</i>	> <i>espadla</i> (> <i>espalda</i>)
k'l > gl	<i>saec(u)lu</i>	> <i>siglo</i>
b'l > bl	<i>neb(u)la</i>	> <i>niebla</i>
f'l > fl	<i>sif(i)lare</i>	> <i>chiflar</i>

These new clusters from the second syncope remain as discrete units and do not palatalize as was the case with the clusters arising from the first occurrence of syncope. This would indicate that the process of palatalization of these medial clusters was completed before the beginning of the second syncope. Sonorization, however, is still continuing,

cf. *p'l* and *b'l* become *bl*, for example, *populum* > *pueblo*, *nebula* > *niebla*, *tabula* > *tabla*; similarly, *k'l* and *g'l* merge to become *gl*, for example, *saeculu* > *siglo*, *regula* > *regla*.

The process of palatalization is continued with the clusters in initial position which are composed of a voiceless element plus /l/, for example, *pluvia* > *lluvia*, *closa* > *llosa*, *flamma* > *llama*.⁷⁰ In the case of /fl-/, in most instances, this becomes /l-/.⁷¹ Reference to the *Cid*⁷² would indicate that the change had begun prior to its composition; see, for example, line 242 *llamavan*, line 102 *llegó*. Entwistle (p. 286) places the change before the opening of the eighth century when the peninsular unity was still maintained. Elcock (p. 421) posits the change before the appearance of texts, possibly before the tenth century, as does Jungemann. The view taken in this thesis is that palatalization of initial clusters commenced early during the Vulgar Latin period.⁷³

Clusters composed of a voiced element plus /l/ show a different result; /gl-/ goes to /l-/ in a very few instances, for example, *glattire* > *latir*, and /gl-/ becomes /l-/ in Asturian, cf. *glarea* > *llera*. Elsewhere it remains in its discrete form. /bl-/ goes to /l-/ in only one instance, cf. *blastemare* > *lastimar*. Initial voiced consonants

⁷⁰Examples are from Corominas, *Breve diccionario*.

⁷¹Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 126 states: "el caso de FL- aún ofrece un tercer resultado, perdiéndose desde muy temprano la F- como ante vocal, sin palatizar la l; flaccidu *lacio*; Flaginu...*Laino*, Flammula *Lambla* y *Lambra*...." Note, however, the exception *flamma* > *llama* /lama/.

⁷²*Poema de mio Cid*, Menéndez Pidal, ed. See also Appendix A.

⁷³See also Bourciez, *Eléments de linguistique romane*, p. 408; Jungemann, *La teoría del sustrato*, p. 160.

plus /l/ are infrequent in Latin and no attested forms have yet been found which indicate a modification of /bl-/ > /l-/ in popular Castilian speech. However, considerations of symmetry⁷⁴ and cluster relationships in syllable initial and morpheme initial position suggest that /bl-/, if occurring at all in popular speech, may have had an alternative form /l-/ but which was never recorded as such. Most of the forms in Modern Spanish containing this cluster seem to be learned words introduced after the period under discussion. Even the form *blanco* replaced the earlier word *albo*, perhaps through French influence (cf. French *blanc*, Italian *bianco*), lending support to the view that external social forces are partially responsible for inhibiting the process of palatalization in Castilian.

It seems, therefore, that there are two competing pressures on the system:

(1) to preserve initial clusters on the basis of new medial clusters from syncope, and

(2) to reduce initial clusters on the basis of medial reduction.

This is the framework which paves the way for the Old Spanish stage.

⁷⁴See Appendix B.

CHAPTER V
OLD SPANISH

5.1. *Fundamental Differences between HR and OS.*

The fundamental differences between the consonantal systems of Hispano Romance and Old Spanish consist in the addition of three new phonemes in the palatal zone: /-č-/ from /-kt-/ (*lacte* > *leche*), /-ž-/ from /-l-/ (*abelā* (< *apicula*) > *abeža*, MS *abeja*), and /-ǵ-/ from the development of /i/ followed by a back vowel (*jacet* > *ǵace*, MS *yace*).⁷⁵ According to Alarcos Llorach, the phonemic inventory of consonants for Old Spanish is as follows (p. 265):

p	t	ć	č	k
b	d	ž	ǵ	g
f		s	š	
v		z	ž	
	l	ḷ		
	r			
	ř			
m	n	ñ		

⁷⁵See Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, p. 420. There is some question as to whether [-ǵ-] and [-ž-] were actually separate phonemes or whether they were merely combinatory variants (see Alarcos Llorach, p. 265). Dorfman is inclined to believe that [-ǵ-] was not a phoneme, but that it was an allophone of [-ž-] since in the unvoicing of OS sibilants, /ž/ > /ć/ (> /θ/) and /z/ > /s/, it would be logical for /ǵ/ to become /č/. This did not occur, however, but instead /ǵ/ and /ž/ merged with /š/ and eventually went to /x/.

Upholding this point of view is the fact that in the allophonic correlations where [b̥] is an allophone of /b/, etc. we find [b̥] : /b/ = [d̥] : /d/ = [g̥] : /g/ (= [ž̥] : /ǵ/?).

At this stage the clusters /pl/, /kl/ and /fl/ no longer occur medially except in borrowed words. Initially these clusters are still in the process of palatalizing and examples exist of words containing the discrete units, (e.g., *plegar*) and of those containing the fused unit (e.g., *llegar*).

5.2. Borrowings, Cultismos and Semicultismos.⁷⁶

In the thirteenth century, during the reign of Alfonso X 'el Sabio,' scholarship received royal patronage, and under his direction prose now became the medium of recording history in Castilian with the compilation of the *Crónica General*.⁷⁷ In their discussion of the introduction of *latinismos* into the Spanish language, Alvar and Mariner comment:

"En muchos aspectos coincide con la obra de Alfonso el Sabio la necesidad sentida por los traductores de crearse una lengua apta para reproducir adecuadamente el original que vierten. Fue éste un camino seguro para la penetración de latinismos" (p. 34).

They conclude:

"...el latinismo es constante a lo largo de toda nuestra historia lingüística y, además afecta tanto a la expresión de temas religiosos (algunas glosas de los siglos IX y X, Berceo) como a las traducciones bíblicas (siglos XIII al XV, Alfonso X); a la lengua teórica de un jurista (Rey Sabio) como a los Fueros de los siglos XIII o XIV; a la manera de los poetas adjuglarados (*Infancia y muerte de Jesús, Egipciaca*) del siglo XIII, como a las preocupaciones estilísticas de los poetas más cultos y refinados de nuestra lengua (Mena, Herrera, Góngora, Calderón); a la narración histórica o

⁷⁶For a traditional approach to *cultismos*, see Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, pp. 9-14.

⁷⁷See Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, p. 171.

astronómica medieval (Alfonso el Sabio) como a los humanistas del Renacimiento (Vives, Valdés, Abril)."⁷⁸

Brought into Spanish at this time from Latin literary sources, *cultismos* are considered an important source for the new consonant clusters, for example, *poplatos*, *aradeblis*, *stranglatos*, *clausula*, etc. Depending on when they are introduced, some of these learned words undergo subsequent modification and are thus referred to as *semi-cultismos*, for example, *saeculu* > *siglo* (but had it followed through completely as a regular change, it would have become **sejo* in Castilian).⁷⁹ Other examples of *semicultismos* are *copula* > *copla*, *diabolu* > *diablo*.⁸⁰

During the thirteenth century, France was becoming the strongest and most centralized of all European states, and its literature was rapidly penetrating every court in Europe, creating new fashions in composition and leaving on all sides its trace in lexical borrowings.⁸¹ The literary influence in Spain was very great and of the numerous borrowings introduced from France, many contained the clusters /pl/, /kl/ and /fl/, for example, *placa*, French *plaque*. The introduction of these clusters into the language, both in syllable initial and word initial position, acts as a reinforcing factor to the initial clusters

⁷⁸"Latinismos," in *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, p. 48.

⁷⁹See Entwistle, p. 194.

⁸⁰See Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, p. 158. See also Entwistle, pp. 193 ff. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, pp. 75-8.

⁸¹See Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, p. 353; Entwistle, pp. 169 ff. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, p. 188 comments: "...el español de los siglos XII y XIII se asemejaba mucho al francés."

that have not as yet been palatalized. It also acts as a possible arresting agent to the process of palatalization in this position. Modern Spanish is thus a reflection of all these processes.

6.1. *Depalatalization Pressures Within the Phonemic System.*

In the passage from Classical Latin to Old Spanish, the system has changed from no palatals at all, through a gradual build-up, culminating in a point where that zone is greatly overcrowded. By the time of Hispano Romance, the whole palatal spectrum received new impetus as, besides the palatalization of both medial and initial /pl/, /kl/ and /fl/, there was also the palatalization of /s/ + yod (*bassiare > *bajar*), and the appearance of [č] from consonant + *cl* (*trunculu* > *troncho*).⁸²

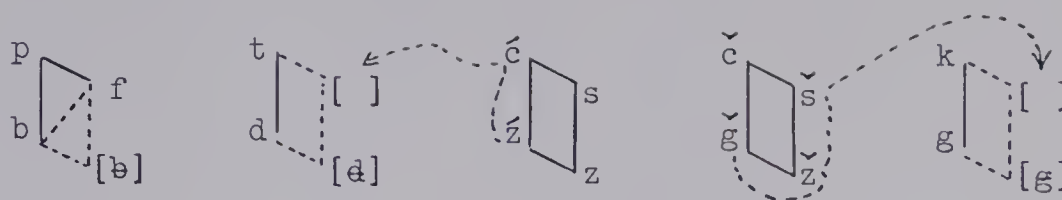
With the creation of all these new phonemes, the palatal area is overloaded and pressure is exerted within the system to push the former Vulgar Latin /ć/ and /ź/ forward to the dental zone, thereby creating the opposition of apico-alveolar and apico-palatal.⁸³ This leads to the phonemicization of more sibilants, including the voiced ones, which help to extend the correlations between voiced and voiceless series, especially the fricatives. The Old Spanish system at the time of the Alfonsian period consisted of five orders and four series giving a total of sixteen phonemes. Of these sixteen⁸⁴ phonemes, however, eight are in

⁸²Examples are taken from Corominas *Breve diccionario* and García de Diego *Gramática histórica española*, p. 141.

⁸³For an account of the pronunciation of these sounds, see Harris, *Spanish Phonology*, pp. 196 ff.

⁸⁴Or fifteen if [ǰ] is merely an allophone of /ź/.

the sibilant zone:⁸⁵



The subsequent unvoicing of the sibilants reduced the number of palatal phonemes with /*c̃*/ and /*z̃*/ moving toward the apicals (to eventually become /*θ*/), and [*g̃*] and [*z̃*] joining together and going to /*š*/ (to eventually become /*x*/). The depalatalization tendency therefore may have put pressure on the system not to palatalize further in the case of the initial clusters which were still changing to /*l̃*-/; or at least it may have acted as further impetus for the palatalization process to come to a halt. In addition, the ever-increasing prestige of the literary language, along with a continually widening circulation of written and spoken standard language probably are partially responsible for the retention of initial and medial /*pl*/, /*kl*/ and /*fl*/ in their discrete form. The process results in major innovations in the Modern Spanish consonant system.

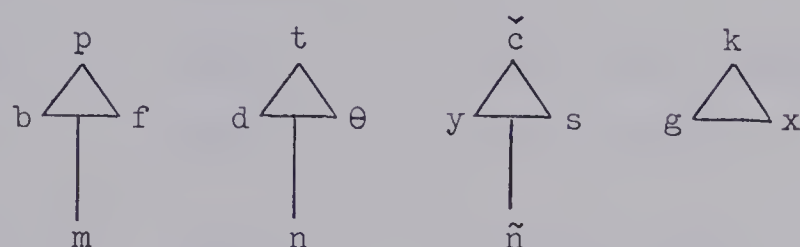
6.2. *The Consonantal System of Modern Spanish.*

The consonantal system of Modern Spanish is considerably reduced from that of Old Spanish, particularly in the palatal zone.

⁸⁵See Dorfman, *History of the Spanish Language*, p. 89.

p	t	č	k
b	d	y	g
f	θ	s	x
	l	l̥	
	r		
	ř		
m	n	ñ	

Excluding the nasals, the system has now changed from a quadratic to a triadic one:⁸⁶



On the basis of the voiced occlusive/fricative relationship a new [č] now develops as an allophone of /y/ which was the consonantal allophone of /i/ in the vocalic system and which is now in process of phonemicizing within the consonantal system thus extending the allophonic partnership within the correlation; the extended proportion shows itself in /b/ : [b] = /d/ : [d] = /g/ : [g] = /y/ : [č].

/l/ and /l̥/ are in opposition initially and medially, for example, *loro* versus *lloro*, *talar* versus *tallar*. The initial clusters have partially palatalized to /l̥-/ and in some cases words from the same Latin base exist side by side in both the discrete and the fused form, resulting in doublets of learned and popular origin.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 100.

6.3. Doublets.

A few doublets⁸⁷ remain in the language; however, the distinction between the two forms (one containing the discrete cluster and the other containing the fused form) is reflected in their syntagmatic distribution. Lapesa (p. 77) remarks "...que las voces populares suelen tener un sentido más concreto y material que las eruditas." Thus, for example, Latin *clavis*, giving both *llave* and *clave* shows a more specialized and perhaps more sophisticated meaning for the *cultismo* (or discrete form).

<i>Latin</i>		<i>Spanish</i>	
plenus	>	pleno	'full, joint (session)'
		lleno	'full, plenty'
clavis	>	clave	'key (to code)'
		llave	'key (to a door)'
flamma	>	flama	'flame, reverberation'
		llama	'flame'

Throughout word lists of this kind, it may be seen that where the cluster is retained a more erudite gloss is generally given while the palatalized (popular) form is usually a word which could be considered

⁸⁷Examples are taken from Corominas, *Diccionario crítico de la lengua castellana*.

more meaningful to the general populace.⁸⁸ Another problem which bears on the innovations in the Modern Spanish consonant system has to do with yeísmo.

6.4. Yeísmo.⁸⁹

Many languages demonstrate the phenomenon of yeísmo; for example, it may be seen in dialects of Catalan, Provençal, Italian, Rumanian and Hungarian; in Portuguese as spoken in the Azores and in Brazil. In each case the process has had its own particular form.⁹⁰ Zamora Vicente⁹¹ details the distribution of yeísmo as well as its production:

"El yeísmo consiste en un ablandamiento de la articulación. La *ʎ* se articula aplicando el dorso de la lengua al paladar y dejando descender los bordes, la parte mas fuerte de la lengua, para dejar por allí paso libre al aire. El proceso más general es el de invertir esos movimientos y dejar libre el centro, con lo que la articulación se convierte de lateral en central. La *l* lateral es un fonema poco estable. Se hizo muy pronto *ʎ* la *ʎ* procedente de los grupos latinos *lj*, *kj*, etc., y hoy se va transformando rápidamente la de otro origen (*pl*, *cl*, *fl*, o *-ll-*, etc.)...."⁹²

⁸⁸The problem of functional yield as discussed in Martinet's article "Function, Structure, and Sound Change," is not investigated here inasmuch as the cluster of two discrete units is opposed to a single fused unit and no distinctive features are involved in the opposition. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn in terms of the system as the functional yield would not reflect anything happening therein.

⁸⁹While yeísmo bears some relation to the development of /*ʎ*/ the problem is of such an extensive nature that it can only be treated here in barest outline and as it applies directly.

⁹⁰See Amado Alonso, *Estudios lingüísticos*, p. 159.

⁹¹*Dialectología española*, pp. 66-7.

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 66-7. Mozarabic had *y* for *ll* representing initial *ʎ*- in *yengua* (< *lingua*); *ll* > *y* in French, e.g., *fille* /fiy/. This occurred also in Judeo-Spanish, cf. /*eya*/, /*yebar*/. Between vowels, the /*y*/ is frequently lost, for example, *castillo* > *castío*, *bolsillo* > *bolsío*, *amarilla* > *amaría*, *gallina* > *gaína*, *allí* > *aí* (see Lapesa, p. 337).

The reduction of *k'l*, *g'l*, and *li* to *l*, *y*, *ž* takes place in the eleventh century throughout Old Castile and Asturias de Santander, West La Rioja and East and South León. These three related sounds coexist today for the pronunciation of *ll* in Modern Spanish where, for example, *caballero* is pronounced /kaβaléro/, kaβayéro/ and /kaβažéro/.

Entwistle considers that the Castilian /x/ developed as the end of a phonetic chain of evolution (see above, page 40) which had the palatal fricative as its middle term stating that "The latter was unstable, and served mainly to ease the transition" (p. 164). The phoneme /l/, evolving chronologically from all sources including that which is giving rise to yeísmo, has revealed the development of a system that has expanded and subsequently reduced the consonantal paradigm in the palatal zone to its present form in Modern Spanish.

6.5. *Modern Spanish Reflexes.*

The resulting forms in Modern Spanish are as follows:⁹³ In initial position, Latin /l-/ remains /l-/ , *lana* > *lana*, *lacte* > *leche*. /l-/ did not occur in Latin; however, Menéndez Pidal has found examples of initial /l-/ in early Leonese and Asturian documents, for example, *lloco predicto y lliveram* (908, León), *llauore* (1082, Toro).⁹⁴ Menéndez Pidal also believes that /l-/ must have existed in the Hispano Romance of Córdoba.⁹⁵ The initial clusters /pl-/ , /kl-/ and /fl-/ either went

⁹³Examples are taken from Coromina, *Diccionario crítico*, and from Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática*, pp. 72, 145.

⁹⁴For further examples, see Jungemann, p. 158 and Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, para. 44.

⁹⁵See Jungemann, *La teoría del sustrato*, pp. 158-59.

to /l-/ or else they remained as clusters, for example *planta* > *planta/llanta*, *clavis* > *clave/llave*, *flamma* > *flama/llama*. /fl-/ also went to /l-/, *flaccidu* > *lacio*, but most frequently it remained, cf. *flor*. The voiced clusters /gl-/ and /bl-/ either simplify to /l-/ or else they remain, e.g., *glandula* > *landre*, *gloria* > *gloria*, *blastemare* > *lastimar*, *blitum* > *bledo*.

In medial position, Latin /-l-/ remains, *pala* > *pala*, *caelu* > *cielo*. /-ll-/ > /-l-/ (with a dot under the l), *bellu* > *bello* /belo/. /-lly-/, /-ly-/, /-k'l-/, /-g'l-/ go to /-x-/, for example, *alliu* > *ajo* /axo/, *molliare* > *mojar* /moxar/, *filius* > *hijo* /ixo/, *apicula* > *abeja* /abexa/, *tegula* > *teja* /texa/.

The clusters /-pl-/, /-kl-/ and /-fl-/ after a consonant become /-č-/, as does /-ly-/ after a consonant, for example, *amplu* > *ancho* /ančo/, *mancula* > *mancha* /manča/, *inflare* > *inchar* /inčar/, *cochleare* > *cuchara* /kučara/. Only /-ffl-/ > /-l-/ (with a dot under the l), *afflare* > *hallar*, *sufflare* > *(re)sollar* /resolar/. After the first occurrence of syncope the resulting /-pl-/, /-kl-/ and /-fl-/ palatalize but, after the second occurrence of syncope in Hispano Romance, the new *pl* and *kl* sonorize and then remain, cf. *populum* > *pueblo*, *saeculu* > *siglo*. /-fl-/ from the second syncope remains, cf. *sifilare* > *chiflar*. The voiced clusters resulting from this same process remain, for example, *regula* > *regla*, *ablatis* > *ablación*.⁹⁶

⁹⁶For charts showing the results of initial and medial clusters in the evolution from Vulgar Latin to Modern Spanish, see Appendix B.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

An investigation of the syntagmatic aspects of the palatalization of /pl/, /kl/, and /fl/ demonstrates that there is a relationship between medial and initial cluster reduction by virtue of their syllable initial and word initial position. An examination of the paradigmatic aspect has demonstrated that once /l/ was introduced medially, its subsequent introduction in initial position did not make any structural difference to the paradigm since it merely merged with the /l/ already in the system.

The process of palatalization of the medial clusters began after the first occurrence of syncope in Vulgar Latin and it continued uninterrupted until its completion during the period of Hispano Romance. At this time there was a second occurrence of syncope after which the new medial clusters remained without palatalizing. However, word initial clusters continued to palatalize until the thirteenth century at which time the introduction of a large number of *cultismos* along with strong French influence put pressure on these clusters to cease palatalizing and to remain as discrete units.

Further, from no palatals at all in Classical Latin, there was a gradual build-up to an overloaded palatal zone in Hispano Romance. The fact that medial clusters had completed their process of palatalization and the new clusters from syncope did not palatalize, led to the initial clusters behaving in the same way. The general tendency of these clusters had been to palatalize both medially and initially; when this process stopped medially, the initials eventually began to stop also.

The fact that some words remain in Modern Spanish as doublets demonstrates that the palatalization process was arrested in mid-stream.

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APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES FROM *EL CID* (ca. 1140) of initial and medial clusters illustrating palatalization in process--some clusters in their discrete form and some already fused.

-ll- *aquellas* (1.116); *fallaron* (1.1737)

ll- *llorar* (1.856); *llamavan* (1.242); *llegó* (1.102)

-pl- *coplas* (1.2276)

pl- *plogo* (1.860); *plata* (1.81)

-npl- *conplido* (1.65)

-bl- *doblar* (1.80); *fablo* (1.387)

bl- *blanco* (1.3074)

-kl- *eclegia* (1.2239)

kl- *clavos* (1.88)

-gl- *eglesia* (1.367); *juglar* (title, p. 223)

gl- *gloriosa* (1.221); *glera* (1.56)

APPENDIX B

CHARTS representing heterogeneous reflexes of initial and medial clusters in the evolution from Vulgar Latin to Modern Spanish. Examples are taken from Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*.

INITIAL

pl- > pl- l-	kl- > kl- l-
bl- > bl- [*l-] ⁹⁷ l-	gl- > gl- l- l-
fl- > fl- l- l-	

EXAMPLES

planta > planta llantén	clamare > clamor llamar
blitu > bleto	gloria > gloria glarea > llera glattire > latir
blastemare > lastimar	
floris > flor flamma > llama flaccidus > lacio	

⁹⁷ [*l-] is inserted here to show that /bl-/ may have palatalized and had an alternative form /l-/ which was never recorded.

MEDIAL

-p'l- > -pl- -č- -bl-	-k'l- > -kl- -x- -gl-
-b'l- > -bl- -l- -l-	-g'l- > -gl- -x-
-f'l- > -fl- -l- -l-	

EXAMPLES

copula > copla	conclave > conclave
*capula > cacha	oculu > ojo
populus > pueblo	eclesia > iglesia
ablatio > ablación	regula > regla
tribulum > trillo	tegula > teja
sifilare > chiflar	
aflare (X) > hallar	

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY

PRECLASSICAL AND CLASSICAL LATIN

Romanization of Iberia	2nd century BC
Golden Age (Virgil, Horace)	1st century BC

VULGAR LATIN

Period of incubation	1st - 4th century AD
<i>Itala</i> translation of Bible	1st century
<i>Vulgate</i> translation of Bible	4th century
<i>Appendix Probi</i>	4th century
Fall of Empire	5th century

HISPANO ROMANCE

<i>Glosas Emilianenses</i>	10th century
<i>Glosas Silenses</i>	10th century

OLD SPANISH

<i>Cantar de Mio Cid</i>	12th century
<i>Crónica General</i> (Alfonso el Sabio)	13th century
Nebrija	15th century

MODERN SPANISH

17th century to present

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